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THE
SUBSTANCE of K. William's DISCOURSE
TO HIS
Cabinet-Council.

I Need not recommend to you the Secrecy of what I shall say of the true State of the *Ticklish Condition* our Affairs stand in at present. 'Tis not prudent the Parliament should have true Lights of it, lest it discourage them from giving Money. Our Success at Sea is the onely thing that supports our Credit, though you know well that was a meer Accident, (though we cried it up for a complete Victory,) not to be hoped for always, nor often: For an Hour's Tide more would have carried those sixteen Ships we burnt cross the *Cape* to *St. Malo's*, and had left us, though above twice their number, with no other Advantage in the Fight, but that of having received more Blows. My Intelligence tells me, that for the sixteen they lost, they are building about twenty six Ships more in their own Ports, some of which are already launch'd, and the rest in a great forwardness against the next Spring; several of them of greater strength than the former; besides those which are building for them in *Sweedon* and *Denmark*. Besides, they keep their Transport Ships still in readiness, and have built good store of *Gallies* and *Gallions*, which they are bringing to the Ports nearest *England*; so that it's certain they still hanker after an Invasion, *to meet with which I bring my Forces over hisher*. They will immediately press upon *Holland*, who we may be sure will not hazard to be ruined for our sakes: Besides, I have so many back Friends there, that they will the sooner make Peace to exclude me from being their *Stadtholder*, which I hold now more by *Awe* than *Love*. If I leave my Troops in *Flanders*, then the French will craftily take some opportunity to land the late King in *England*, set up discontented *Scotland*, and perhaps *Ireland* too. And should he land here, I expect that not onely my known Enemies, but multitudes of others who comply now for Fear will flock to him. The over-burthened Commons seeing no likely prospect of the end of the War, nor consequently of *Taxes* and *Polls*, will give scope to their natural Mutability, and face about, especially when they hear that many of the chief Nobility are run to the other Side. This will make the unskill'd and fearfull Countrey-*Militia* act but coldly, if many of them do not revolt; nay, to tell you the plain Truth, We know not how hearty the Army would be in such a Circumstance: The want of full Pay vexes them; the Feud betwixt them and the Dutch galls them; and they have taken a Conceit that I more favour the *Dutch* than the *English* Interest, which makes them serve me for Fear, or Pay, and not out of Affection: So that when by an Army to protect them the Fear is taken off, and by my assisting the *Confederates* their Pay (as it must be) is balk'd, I much fear that their Affection to Our Service will be too weak a Tie to keep them loyal.

As for the Success of Our several Allies, the D. of *Savoy* has got Plunder in *France*, but it will be doubly repaid in *Piedmont*, whither *Catinat* is gone with Fifty Thousand to winter there upon free Cost, which will beggar the whole Countrey; and the *Germans*, who make up the far better half of his Army, will starve if they do not return home speedily, the *Italian Princes* refusing to quarter them any longer, and the *French* having obliged them to retire from *Dauphine*, where they in vain hop'd to winter. The Duke *Schomberg* has given me a sad Account of Affairs on that side, and himself desires to be called Home, seeing no Good can be done there: So that after all, the Helps We have given him are to no purpose, and the Soldiers I have rais'd must serve others for want of farther pay; for he will certainly make *Peace*, and be glad he may have it; and then the *French King* will bring all his Soldiers that are in the Field, and in *Garrisons* there, towards *Flanders*, which with the new 40000 which (besides Recruits) he is raising, will over-run *Flanders*, and *Holland* too, to our utter undoing.

To

To come nearer home, the D. of *Newburgh* is defeated in *Luxembourg*, the Prince of *Wirtemberg* upon the *Rhine*, Our Selves have lost *Namur*, and about 10000 in the Battel of *Steynkirk*. One of the chief *German Confederates* (the P. of *Wirtemberg*) is taken prisoner, and at the Mercy of the *French King*; so that we must expect he is no longer Ours. *Hanourr* will be no longer hearty to us to no purpose, the Electorate, the promise of which brought him over to our party, being crost by the *Roman Court*, divers Princes of the Empire, and even by *Denmark* it self. The *Spaniards* have done nothing at all in *Catalonia*, and as little with their Fleet, all their promises being meer Braggs and Vapour. *Saxony* has as good as left us. *Liege* and *Charleroy* are in immediate Danger. The *Switzers* and *Grisons* are cajol'd by *France* to contravene their Neutrality, notwithstanding all the Menaces of *Holland*, the *Emperour*, and *Spain*, finding their Account better in leaning to the *French Interest*. *Spain* and *Holland* are about Trading with *France*: We once hoped to ruine *France* by prohibiting Commerce, but now we find we can less subsist without it than they, and *England* least of all. The *Emperour* hath both his Hands full with the *Turks*, and Peace with them while *France* prospers is not to be hoped for. The *Pole* can lend the *Emperour* no Assistance against him, having enough to do to defend his own Frontiers: So that I fear the House of *Austria* (seeing bad Success every where) will be ready to embrace Peace upon very ordinary terms, especially the Pope so earnestly solliciting him to it. The worst is to come yet; the *French King* declares he will not hear of any Peace till the late King is restored: So that when they are farther straitened by the *French*, and become desirous to put an end to this War, which they are already weary of, I shall be hated by *All*, and lookt upon as the onely Person that hinders it, by keeping my Father out of his Throne.

All these are great Mischiefs, yet the greatest is still behind; *England* that must alone support me with Money, to keep up my own Power, and supply my poorer *Confederates*, is it self reduc'd to Poverty, and disgusted at their Wants, especially for sending most of their Money out of the Nation. There is a discontented party in the *Parliament*, who complain loudly that they have raised me 22 Millions already, and no Good done with it, but the enriching *Holland*, and other Countries, Peace being farther off than ever: They, joined with the Common-wealth Party, are so saucy as to call for Accounts, and its impossible for me to make them to their Satisfaction. So that I fear that either they will give me no more, or else not enough to supply or help my *Confederates*, and my own peculiar Occasions; but onely some pittance to strengthen *England*, and then *Holland* knocks off. They are crafty enough to see that our Designs have proved ineffectual, as our landing at *Baionne*, taking *St. Malo's*, or some *Port-Town* in *France*, burning their other Ships there. They know well we have failed in defending *Namur*, surprizing *Mons*, beating the *French Army*, taking *Ipres*, and in besieging or bombing *Dunkirk*: And I very much apprehend that the People's Eyes will be opened to see that we feed their Hopes, and fob them with counterfeit Pretences in the neck of one another, but in reality I and my *Confederates* are able to do just nothing; and what that will lead their thoughts to you may easily guess. Their first Inference will be, that the *French King* will carry all before him, and make the *Confederates* sue for Peace; the next, that I am the onely Obstacle, and am to be removed, and the late King restored; and this once entering into the Thoughts of this giddy Nation, who have got the knack of turning out their Kings, and on a sudden losing all Respect for them, will make them as little regard Me as my Predecessors, and turn Me out too.

You see my ill Circumstances, and that they need your best Advice, which was always useful to me, but now is more necessary than ever. I recommend to you especially the former method of casting blinds before the Eyes of the *Parliament*, and the *People*, which has ever upheld Me in their Esteem; lest if they strangely imbibe the truth of these matters of Fact, they should despond and keep their Money: For my own part, let *France* and *Fortune* do her worst, I resolve to live and die like a King.



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THE
SUBSTANCE of K. William's Second DISCOURSE
TO HIS
Cabinet-Council.

THE main Points in which I am to require your best Advice are these. First, Since I find it as easie to mingle Fire and Water as 'tis to reconcile the Church of England Party and the Presbyterians, and that I experience I cannot gratifie the one without disobligeing the other ; I am in doubt whether the Dodging way I have hitherto taken, to be *kind* to both, may not come to *disoblige* both ; and whether if Proposals come to be made by the *late King*, equivalent to what my circumstances will let me afford to either, they will not rather lean towards him, and be free from *Taxes*, and *Polls*, which this War that they see likely to continue must still require, than to be at so much Cost to support me in my Government. I will declare my self a little more to you, that you may the better comprehend my Difficulty. Both Parties are led by their Teachers, and the Church of England's Teachers are of Two Sorts: The One of them neither regards my *Frowns*, nor my *Favour*, but think themselves obliged by their *Principles* to look upon me as an *Usurper*: and are perfect *Jacobites*. The other Party (unless when some Presbyterian steps up in their place) have the *same* Principles with the *former*, but comply out of *present Interest* or *Fear*. So that their *Allegiance* (notwithstanding the Oath they take) not coming from their *Hearts* and *Consciences*, can never be *solid*, but *forc'd* and *extorted*, which makes them hate the occasion that put them to the hard choice of either *Starving* or being *Knaves*; besides the aversion they have taken against me, for putting many *Presbyterians* and *Latitudinarians* into their *Bishopricks* and *Parsonages*, and other well-endowed *Dignities*. Hence my Intelligence informs me, That though they are willing to enjoy the *Benefits* of my *Favour*, yet they secretly hanker after their *former King*; they Cabal with the *Jacobites*, where they dare drink K. James's Health ; and though they pray in *Publick* for me, yet in *Private* they *heartily* wish well to the *former Prince*. These Considerations and some others, would perswade me, 'tis more Politick quite to pull down *that Party*, and set up the *other*. But then on the other side, the Presbyterians are so high and hot Headed, that nothing will satisfie them, except they have *All*; and if I give them too much Head, they are naturally so Restless, Rebellious, Haters of Monarchy, and so addicted to a Commonwealth, and withall, love their Money so well, that if I give them too much Power, I shall cast my self upon a Beast so *unruly* and hard to ride, that I shall be in great danger to be thrown out of the Saddle.

Next, How shall I deal with the *Parliament*, and particularly with the *House of Commons*? They have already called me to Account, and are dissatisfied with it. They were in a hot scent after my *Pensioners*, without whom I shall never get a Competency of Money ; and though I endeavoured to put them out of that conceit, and told them, that those great sums of Money which they found was given them, were not given to them as Pension or Salary as Parliament Men, but for *Secret Service* not fit to be divulged ; yet they see this was but a *forc'd put off*. My bare denial they were my *Pensioners* to raise me great Sums by over-voting will not serve the turn, for they knew beforehand it had been a madness for me to *confess* it ; and my saying 'twas for *Secret Service* relating to the *Publick*, not to be divulged, is but a *blind Amusement*, rather a kind of *Tacit Confession* of what they more than suspected. This makes me fear they will look more narrowly into that business, which may undo all. I fetch'd off *Seymour* and other Stickling Commonwealths-Men, by giving them Offices ; but there is a stiff Party amongst them so true to the good of the Commonalty, that no kindness can warp them, and my Gratifying those who aim'd at their Advantage by opposing the Court-Party, the more confirms them in their Opinion of my Proselyting the Members to my side, to betray the Trust impos'd in them by the Commons who Elect them. I dare not venture

to Dissolve this *Parliament* and call another, for that will lose much time, and *present Supplies* are necessary, that we may be early in the Field. Besides, I have reason to fear, that the *New* one may be worse than *this*, especially the New Members will ask time to *Model* them, whereas I have already in this a Party, which with much *Money* and *Policy* I have rendred *pliable to my Will*.

Again, What must I do with the *Confederates*? *England* is too poor to supply them as formerly, and 'tis now so well known, that notwithstanding all their Assistance, *France* still grows upon us, that they are satisfied it will be to little purpose to carry our Men and Money out of *England* to help them who do not much for themselves. To tell you the truth, some of them are so *backward*, and they are in so many minds, that nothing can be much hoped for from them. This makes Men begin already to talk of leaving them off, and strengthen *England* by Sea and Land, by which means we may assault *France* upon the Coasts, and make a great Diversion, which may perhaps be in a manner equivalent to my assisting them in *Flanders*. This is the best way to get me Money, but then 'tis to be feared that I shall lose my Interest in *Holland*, and that should the *French* take some Towns of theirs the next Campaign, the discontented and impoverished people there (whom I did what I could to cajole last year with the hopes of a sudden Peace) will force them to put an end to the War, and come to Conditions with *France*, especially if *Savoy* (as I much fear) breaks the *Confederacy*. Nay, there wants not a great Party there, who (did not my presence, and influence hinder it) would be willing to embrace Peace, were it for nothing else but to *Exclude* me from being their *Stadtholder*, which Office for many reasons, I must not forgo. This is a nice Point, and I desire you to think of it accordingly. Take this along with you, that there is a great Faction of shrewd Men in *England* who are highly disgusted, that out of my *Ambition* (as they account it) to make my self *Generalissimo* and *Cock of the Confederates*, I have spent *England* two or three and twenty Millions, and for the better half transported, to the great loss of the Nation; whereas less than half as much had built us such a Navy, and maintained such an Army, as would have defended *England* against all her Enemies, and yet (the Money circulating here at home) not have much impoverished it. This is a *deadly blow* to my *Honour* and *Credit abroad*, which (against all events) it highly concerns me to maintain, and will *strike deep* into my Interest, and what *Fence* can you find to Ward it?

And since I despair of Money enough to bribe my *Confederates*, and give full Pay to my Soldiers and Seamen, I would desire your Judgment which of them I should prefer, and which postpone, seeing the latter grumble already for their Arrears, and the former, if I withdraw my giving hand, will fall off.

The last Point which I recommend to your best Consideration is, What Course I am to take, in case the *Parliament*, sensible of how little we have done in *Flanders* this last Campaign, should refuse to give me Money sufficient to carry on the War there the next Summer, without which you see all is lost? To tell you my Thoughts upon the matter, I think my best Expedient is to agree with the *States*, and other Foreign *Confederates*, to let me bring over *Dutch* and other Out-landish Soldiers, and leave *English* and *Scotch* behind them to the same number: For by this means I shall at once overawe *Holland* by my own Subjects there, and *England* by *Foreigners* here, and either make them give me what Money I want by way of *Parliament*, or else set up my Title of *Conquest*, and take it where I shall see fit. This is I see feasible, for I am not to value the *Disgust* of the Nation, when I do no longer fear it, nor need I any longer debase my self by *intreating* them for Supplies, when I may *Command* it; for a *Monarch* is then truly a *King*, when he need not *creep* to the People. My only fear is, my *English* so hate the *Dutch*, that they will *Desert* rather than *Fight* for them. To strengthen my self more, I can Arm the *French Hugonets*, of whom we have here good store, and fetch over the *Vandois* if I find *Savoy* inclinable to make Peace. I fear I must be forc'd to this, for I find the *English* an Unconstant and Head-strong Nation, and false to their Kings, nor otherwise to be Rul'd long but with a Rod of Iron. But remember this is my last Refuge, and so you will have more leisure to consider of it, as future occasions afford you more Light. I shall now bethink my self what to say to the *Parliament*, between this and the time they meet.